

4:Grajdanzev--161
116, 641, 643, 177.64
636.64

S-4

(no date) 1942

Formosans
Japan

"The people of Taiwan have no representatives in the Japanese Imperial Diet, they have no representative body which takes part in the legislation or administration of the island.

Under these conditions the position of the governor-general acquires a special importance, and yet if we exclude Kodama, who spent eight years at his post (from February 1898 to April 1906), the average length of tenure is two years and one month, too short a time for a good knowledge of the local conditions. The tenure of the government-general is evidently subject to the vicissitudes of political conditions in Tokyo and has little to do with Taiwan."

4:Grajdanzev--162-163

116, 171, 632, 641, 177.64
636.64

S-4

(no date) 1942

Formosans
Japan

"The municipal or village councils have from 8 to 40 deputies (according to the population), half of whom are appointed by the government and half elected. The electorate is made up of male Empire subjects who have attained the age of twenty-five years, who are not dependent, who have lived continuously for at least six months in that particular locality and pay at least five yen in municipal or village taxes (house tax, land tax, or business tax). [163]

Thus it is clear that the only places in which there is some semblance of elections are the cities or villages. As has already been pointed out, the small landowners in Taiwan possess chiefly dry land and the majority of them own less than one ko. But the village land tax from one ko of dry land is less than five yen and consequently the majority of owners, as well as all tenants and workers, have no right to vote. We have no data for Taiwan, but the example of Korea shows that by this device two per cent of the population—the Japanese—form the majority of the electorate."

4:Grajdanzev--171

S-4

(no date) 1942

Formosans

116, 208, 641, 625, 177.66

Japan

636.66

"Taiwan was conquered by the Japanese army. The regime which was established there was a military regime, and with few modifications it continues to be a military regime today. The government does not trust the Chinese, spies upon them, and is afraid of any movement which does not emanate from the government-general itself. Suppression of the Chinese culture and forcible japanization of the islanders is considered by the government as the best means of turning the islanders into loyal subjects of the Empire."

630 answer to questions submitted to them by
633 the local government authorities." The heads
of towns and villages had no obligation to seek
or to follow the advice of local assemblies.
The governor-general could dissolve the
assemblies at any level at will.

631 The exceedingly limited extent of "self-
666 government," which the Japanese had much
• 641 publicized, was further minimized by the
franchise. Suffrage was granted to all self-
supporting male Japanese subjects 25 years of
age or older, resident in the relevant districts
for more than six months, who have been
paying for six months or longer a minimum
local tax of ¥ 5.00 a year.⁶ Formosan Chinese
were counted as Japanese subjects, but
because the majority of them paid a city, town,
or village tax under ¥ 5.00 a year,⁷ the number

6. Naito, op. cit., p. 73.

7. "The small landowners in Taiwan possess chiefly dry land and the majority of them own less than one ko (chio = 2.39 acres). But the village land tax from one ko of dry land is less than five yen and consequently the majority of owners, as well as all tenants and workers, have no right to vote." Grajdanzev, op. cit., p. 163.

2 [During Japanese occupation from 1895 to 1945 -- Analyst]

63) of eligible voters among the Formosan Chinese
64) was extremely small. In 1935, the year in
64) which the so-called local self-government was
introduced, there were 40,297 qualified voters
among 270,674 Japanese residents, but only
187,155 qualified voters among 4,674,300
Formosan Chinese. The total membership,
including government appointees of provincial,
district and city assemblies as instituted in
1935, was 252 Japanese and 169 Formosan
Chinese. Thus, not only were all administrative
offices almost exclusively staffed by Japanese,
but even in provincial and municipal representa-
tive bodies the Japanese members also far
outnumbered the Formosan members.

625 For administrative control of the populace,
the Japanese relied upon an elaborate police
system. This system⁸ comprised a civilian
police force, numbering over 12,000 in 1940,
supplemented by a special police force of over
5,000, functioning in the areas occupied by
the aborigines and by a military police force
numbering some 6,000. To facilitate the
task of the police force, the old Chinese
pao-chia system of collective responsibility was
revived and strengthened. Approximately ten
households formed a chia and ten chia a pao.

8. Ballantine, op. cit., p. 28.

642 organizations and professional associations are represented both in the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan.¹⁶ Political parties, if lawfully organized, are given equal status and are allowed equal opportunity to participate in elections. All organizations must be registered with the proper authorities by their sponsors. Whoever joins an association formed with the object of committing or inciting rebellion is subject to imprisonment.¹⁷

641 It is definitely stipulated in the Chinese
533 Constitution that all citizens of the Republic of China, irrespective of sex, religion, race, class, or party affiliation, shall be equal before the law. A minimum quota of seats are reserved for women delegates in all representative bodies.¹⁸ And to insure the election of women candidates, votes cast for them are computed separately. There is no religious or racial discrimination in China. A quota of seats in the National Assembly and the Legislature is expressly reserved for "people living in the interior areas," i.e., the minority races.¹⁹

16. Law of Election and Recall of National Assembly Delegates, 1947, Article 4; and Law of Election and Recall of Legislators, 1947, Article 4.

17. Criminal Code, 1935, Article 154, and Rebellion Act, 1950, Article 5.

18. Constitution, Article 134.

19. Constitution, Article 135.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

659 a system of collecting population data, as an integral part of their wider goals in the island. Factual materials of this order have not existed either before or since their occupation.

The complete monument to their enumerative capacities in Taiwan is a series of seven censuses, the first one in 1905, the next in 1915, and one every five years thereafter stopping with 1940. Some were more detailed and are therefore more useful than others. All maintained uniformly high standards in the completeness of reporting, in the consistency of defining ethnic classes, and in the accuracy of information such as age reporting. In these respects they often ranked in quality well above the more advanced censuses of the Western world. The first two censuses, in 1905 and 1915, were carried out before a genuine enumerative census was ever conducted in Japan Proper³ and probably served as testing-grounds for the initial Japanese census of 1920.

One of the first official acts of the Japanese was to make a register of the population under their control. This was undertaken for purposes of regulation, and not to satisfy disinterested curiosity about the inhabitants. To judge by its published results, the early registry was incomplete, especially in its vital statistics. But the rules regarding nationality were important for later demographic data, because they provided the first basis for distinguishing ethnic groups in the population.

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641 The authorities began by requiring all persons who acknowledged the legal status of Taiwanese "nationals" to be so documented with the police. The remaining people of Chinese origin were thenceforth classed as aliens, and were given stricter treatment before the law than the rest. This legal concept of "nationality" (*Minseki*) was unchanging for each individual over time.⁴ Reflecting as it did an official system of ethnic discrimination, this scheme was maintained with some rigor by the police. The classification was extended into census practice, and the system of control later became the basis for collecting census and vital statistics data. It kept distinct four principal groups of people—"Taiwanese" (or "Islanders," as they were called until 1939 in the statistics), Japanese, Koreans, and Mainland Chinese.

³ The Russo-Japanese War intervened in 1905, the World War in 1915. See Taeuber, Irene B., and Beal, Edwin G., Jr. (October, 1946), p. 9.

⁴ The privilege of adopting Japanese nationality was extended to natives of Taiwan only in later years, and was not widely used.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

By these actions the Japanese set apart from all others those who were descended from the original residents of Taiwan. This segregation in the statistics extended from the most obvious differentiation—that of Japanese nationals—down to fine distinctions within the Taiwanese population itself.⁷ It was consistent in both the population censuses and vital statistics, making it possible to amalgamate the two systems of record-keeping continuously as long as they were maintained.

TABLE 1
TAIWANESE BORN OUTSIDE OF TAIWAN, 1920 AND 1930
Proportion of All Persons Who Have Been Born "Abroad," by Age and Sex

	Census of 1920		Census of 1930	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
All ages	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0
0-9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
10-19	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
20-29	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
30-39	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
40-49	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1
50-59	1.3	0.2	0.3	0.1
60-69	1.9	0.3	0.8	0.1
70 and above	2.6	0.7	1.0	0.3

Sources: *Census of 1920, Descriptive Report with Appendix, Table 79.*
Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Table 55.

Regulating the conduct of "alien" Chinese nationals in Taiwan was not the sole purpose in establishing the legal status of residents. The authorities also set out to halt the further migration of people from the mainland. In this they were apparently successful. Taiwanese were required to verify their nationality by certain proofs, chief of which was evidence of having been born in Taiwan. Taking this as a criterion, there seems to have been little admixture from the mainland to the category of "Taiwanese." For example, tables showing Taiwanese who were born "abroad" were published with the censuses of 1920 and 1930. If the information was accurate, practically the entire population of Taiwanese born after 1895 was ac-

⁷ This fine detail was confined to a slightly different classification, based on "race." It provided categories within the group with Taiwanese nationality—aborigines, Taiwanese of Fukien origin, and Taiwanese of Kwangtung origin. The two classifications were not precisely the same, the one based on "nationality" being the more consistent at different times.